2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

581 The girl's choice of a husband is undoubtedly influenced by the amount of bride-wealth that the young man is able to provide, and her relatives—father, brothers, and the *na*—will try to dissuade her from a poor marriage. Public opinion would, however, be against forcing a girl to take a repugnant partner for the sake of the cattle. [582] The provision of the bride-wealth prevents very early marriage, and men do not appear to marry under about twenty years of age.

584 After the bride-wealth has been arranged the young people go to the house of the girl's father. The latter brings a goat into the enclosure and the father of the prospective bridegroom cuts an ear from the animal and binds it to the girl's ankle, when all pray to Nyakang and possibly also to Juok. For some time before the marriage the prospective bridegroom begins to provide fish for his future parents-in-law; he will bring fish every day, and only if the catch is large will he keep any for himself. If he gets on well with his parents-in-law he may continue to do this for a long time after marriage, though he is not bound to do so.

585 The wedding feast takes place at the house of the bride's father, after the whole bride-wealth has been handed over. Much beer is prepared and if the father can afford it a bull is killed. Dancing and [591] feasting may last three days. The couple then go to live in the husband's village, where he has already built a house with the aid of [476] his friends—presumably his age mates. No marriage was celebrated [561] during our stay in the Shilluk country, but from our informants we gathered that the time of the actual consummation of marriage was 584 not a matter of great importance, and that this has usually taken place 836 before the marriage feast, which merely marks the fact that the girl leaves her father's house. We concluded that the usual practice was for intercourse to begin, if the girl was old enough, after a fair proportion of the bride-wealth had been given—one informant said seven cows, another six. The man would come to his betrothed's village and send a friend to fetch her away from her father's house, when they would spend the night in some other house in the village. The transfer of the bride-wealth might take two years or more, the first instalment consisting of two cows.

585 Hofmayr describes a ceremony when the concluding ox of the bride-wealth is handed over. The ox is decorated, and the bridegroom and the young people of both sexes from his village accompany it to the bride's village. Here a mock battle takes place and the bride's friends eventually seize the ox. The bridegroom and his companions

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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storm the bride's homestead and throw spears into her courtyard; in the end the bride gives herself up and goes to the dancing ground. Then the bride's mother takes a shield and spear and throws spears at the retreating bridegroom; he dodges these and retaliates by throwing a specially good spear at the women, which they keep as a memento. Finally the drums give the signal for a dance, and the bridegroom, dressed in a leopard skin, dances with the bride and her people. A drinking bout concludes the ceremony.

Hofmayr describes a rite in which bride and bridegroom ceremonially wash each other's hands.[1] Mr. Heasty suggests that this may refer to the washing of bride and bridegroom by the *waja* (father's sister) of the bride. When the bride first comes to live in her husband's homestead her *waja* accompanies her and initiates her in the duties of a wife. After the first night the couple have spent together the *waja* comes early in the morning and washes the husband and then the wife, and anoints their bodies with oil. This is repeated on several mornings.

Mr. Heasty describes a further ceremony in which washing plays a part. Before the birth of her first child a woman goes to her parents' house, and when the child is old enough for her to return with it to her husband her friends brew quantities of beer. This they take to the husband's village, where she returns with her mother and grandmother. The people of the husband's village drink the beer, a gourd of water is passed round and everyone drops in it some gift, which will be given to the women who have brewed the beer; at the same time the men wash their hands. This Mr. Heasty states is a public ceremony, exhibiting the child and signifying the fulfilment of the marriage. The bride-wealth has been given, the two families are friends, the husband need no longer serve his parents-in-law; in case of need his wife may even go to her parents and beg food from them.

The bride-wealth consists of cows, sheep, and spears, typically as follows:—

Dok num, the cattle of the marriage. Usually ten cows, but more may be paid if a man is very attracted to his betrothed.

Diek num, the sheep of the marriage.

Jam num, spears and other goods.

The *dok num* are taken by the father, but he cannot keep them all; indeed, in some cases it might happen that he would keep none.

[1] Op. cit., 290 et seq.

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

III. FAMILY LIFE.

When a young man wants to marry, he himself asks the girl he has selected; if she assents, she directs her lover to her parents and the old people of the village; if these also do not object, they ask him to bring the dowry, which consists of cattle. From four to six head of oxen and one milch cow is the ordinary price for a woman, besides a number of sheep and goats. But the whole of this dowry is in most cases not paid to the father-in-law at once, before the marriage takes place. One ox is paid to the elders of the village when they arrange the marriage business, one or more at the celebration of the marriage, another when the first child is born. The ox which is slaughtered at the marriage festival is driven to the village of the bride by all the young men of the bridegroom's village. They decorate this ox by tying tassels of cows' tails on the top of the horns. In case the horns have not a good shape for tying these tassels, they are pierced and the tassels are fastened in the holes. A young man in buying an ox is always particular about the shape of the horns for this reason. On the marriage festival vide page 109. — A man cannot reach a social position without being married, and he cannot get a wife without cattle; so every young Shilluk's highest ambition consists in procuring cattle in order to buy a wife. But, as already mentioned, they usually marry before the full dowry is paid, and in such a case the debts of the young husband may become the source of quarrels between husband and wife, and still more between husband and father-in-law. As long as the price is not paid, the father has a legal right to take his daughter back from her husband; but this, though often threatened, is seldom done. Those who have sufficient means will as a rule not be satisfied with one wife, but marry a second and a third; only a very few exceed this number.

MARRIAGE

A young man may not marry a girl from his own division or clan, (vide page 127 ff.) but from any other division; the girl may live in the same village or in any other village, but they prefer to marry in a distant village. These marriage laws are a well established tribal custom, and people fear to break them, lest death follow marriage.

The position of the woman is no doubt a higher one than with most Mohammedan peoples of the Sudan. She is generally well treated and is shown remarkable respect. The women sometimes take part in public assemblies with the men, discuss the affairs that interest them and partake in dances and religious ceremonies. Even in their war-dances the women play an active *rôle*, vide page XXXIX. — If refractory or lasy, the man may give his wife a thrasing with a rope.

POSITION OF WOMEN

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

*539 She says: "But why do you not go into the village, to the old people?" Then
584 he goes into the village, and talks with the old people. They say: "We have nothing to say against it." Now he returns home, and brings a sheep, as a present for the old people. The old people say: "We accept your proposal, go,
[583] and bring the cattle!" The man goes, and procures the cattle, he returns with it to the old people, and they say: "Go, and bring the rest of the dowry!" And the rest of the dowry is brought, the part for the people in the village of
*539 God.[1] Now beer is strained, and the people are called. The ox of dowry is
585 brought by all the people; the people go, and fetch the ox, and a spear, which is (a present) for the man who held fast the rope of the ox. The people go into the village. And the people dance. The bridegroom is put into a hut together with the arranger of the marriage; the bride stays with her family together with the woman-arranger of the marriage. While the people are still dancing, the bridegroom is led out by his friends, the bride also is brought out by her friends. All the people continue dancing, and a cow is killed, which is eaten by the people; and they drink plenty of beer; and they eat bread, bread which is mixed with butter. There are many people present.

At last the people scatter, and go home. The bridegroom is now instructed with regard to his wife (that is, he is told how much cattle etc. he has still to
[583] give). They say to him: "Bring goods, bring giraffe-tails, and skin-cloths, and bracelets for tying."

And (the next day) food (beer, and different foods prepared of dura) is brought; it is carried into the village of the bridegroom. The men who carry it, sit down outside in the bush before going into the village. The people of
[482 the bridegroom now bring a goat into the bush (to the carriers, as a present);
431] after that the carriers come into the village, but they refuse to go into the yard of the bridegroom. Now hoes are brought forth, and are thrown on the ground (as a present for the carriers), and they go into the yard; they stand still in the yard with their food on their head, and again refuse to put their loads on the ground. So once more hoes are brought, and thrown down before them. Now they put their loads down.

The bride also, when she is brought by her friends into the home of the bridegroom, remains outside the yard. And a goat is led out (to those waiting outside), and then she enters the yard. They (she and her friends) sit down in the yard. The ear of the goat is cut off, and after that they enter the hut. — But the girl refuses to lie down; and metal ornaments are brought, which are to cause her to lie down, and then she lies down. The next morning a goat is brought, the goat is killed. The women dig for mud which is used in building; and the enclosure in besmeared with mud (is repaired). When they have

[1] for the deceased ancestors.

finished this, they go into the hut to eat. But the girl again refuses to eat. And metal ornaments are brought, and then she eats. The next day the women go out to bring fire-wood. When they come back, they put food on the fire, and spend the night in cooking. When they have finished cooking, they strain beer, and once more they besmear the enclosure with mud, and the hut also. The next day all the people come to drink beer. The drum is beaten, and the people dance. 539* 585

That is all; and a ram is brought, the ram is killed and eaten by the women. Now they (the female relatives of the bride) go home, and the bride remains (in the house of her husband) together with her aunt. She is given to her husband, and they live together. The aunt too goes home. 539* 591

When the wife is with child, a cow is sent to her relatives by the husband. Before this is done, her relatives (parents) say: "He (our son-in-law) is a bad man," and her father and mother are angry. But when the cow is brought, they are happy. And they say to the people who bring the cow: "Return to your family!" And they return. And they are sprinkled with water. And when the time comes that she is to be confined, she is brought to her family (to her parents; the child should be born in the home of the mother's parents). 539* 843 [844]

16. Burial.

Ḹāp kɛ́ a ɣ́ɔ́ɔ́, ka ʠ̄rɣ dwai, ka gyɛ̄ŋɣ kwaá, ka gɣ̄ɛh fɛ́, ka gyɛ̄ŋɣ ʠ̄, ka lɛ́ɲ 539*
tátyɛ̄l, ka gyɛ̄ŋɣ mɛ̄kɣ nák, ka gɣ̄ɛh fɛ́, ká ʠ̄ap wiy ɠ̄āp; ka dyɛl kɛ̄l, ka gɣ̄ɛhí[1]
loɣ, ka wɛ́ɛ́ budɣ kí kal. Ká wàɣ́ kɛ̄l, ka chwɣ́p, ká jɛ́ chɣ̀kɣ̀, ka jam kwɛ̄r gwach. Ka
dɛ́ɲɣ́ kɛ̄l, ka tɛ́ɛ́ kɛ̄l, ka kwɛ́r kɛ̄l, ka atɛ̄gɣ kɛ̄l, ka lāu kɛ̄l; ka tyɛ́ɲ kɛ̄dɣ bɛ́ ŋɛte
kwɛ́dɣ, mɛn tát pɛ̀m; ka tɛ̄gɣ twɛɛh tyɛ́le gɛ́ɲ. Ká gɛ́ kɛ́dɣ̀, ka gɛ́ ɲùdɣ̀ kwɔ́dɣ̀, ka
kwɛ́dɣ kɛ̄l gɛ́ pach, ka wɛ́kɛ̀ tyɛ́ɲ kwɔ́ɲ, ka tyɛ́ɲ kwɔ́ɲ ko: kɛ̄l kɛ́ch! Ka kɛ̀ch kɛ̄l,
ka gɛ́ ko: ɾɛɲɲ ɠ̄āp! Ka ɾɛtí kɛ́t, ka ɠ̄āp ɾɛ́m, ka ɾɛɛte kɛ̄l, ɾɛm kɛ́y bùr ɠ̄āp. Ka
ɠ̄āp e kwɔ́ɲ, ka jɛ̄ mɛ̄kɛ ye kwɔɲɣ ɠ̄āp, ka jɛ̄ mɛ̄kɛ yɛchɛ́ ɠeàɲ. Ká pyɛ̀n kɛ̄l, ka
ɣɛ̀r (rɛ̀r), ká tát pɛ̀m, ɛ́d kɪ̀ɛte fɛ́ɲ (tabate). Ka ɠ̄āp dwai kàl, ka chyɛgɛ chwɣ́l, ɯ
mɪ̀ɛte tyɛ́lí ɠ̄āp, ka ɠ̄āp kɪ̀ɛte wiy tabate. Ka ɲà gɛ́l gɛ́ɲ yɛchɛ́ tyɛ́lí ɠ̄āp, ka ɲewɛ́n
chwɣ́l, ɯ lɪ̀nɛ́ tūk. Ká àl kɛ̄l, ka dyɛl kɛ̄l, ka dyɛl gɛ́che loɣ; ka būl gɛ́ch. Ka jɛ̄
yɛɛgɛ̀ɛ; a tíni ʠ̄rɣ fa ɣɛɛɲ, ka jɛ́ wùchɛ̀. Ka yɛ̀i shɛ̄m, ka ɠ̄āp é rùmɛ̀ kɪ́ kwɔ́ɲɣ̀.
Ka bak e kɛ́ɣ, ka ʠ̄rɣ lɛɛkɛ́ gɛɛt, ka ʠ̄rɣ duɛgɛ fach. Obɛɛbyɛ̀ kɛ̄l kɪ́ gyɛ̄ɲɣ̀, ka jɛ̄
fwɔ̀t kɪ́ obwɛɛyɛ. Ka jɛ̄ kɛ̄ɛ̄ fach. Ka fɛ̄l rép mach, ka kɛ̄l, ɲí gɛ̄ɛh bɛ̄ɛ̄lé jɛ́; jɛ̄ e
tɛ̄yɛ̀, ka jɛ̄ rīyɛ chéɲ gɛ́ɲ dɛɲɛ̀ɲ. Ka mɛgɛ dwɛ́l, mɛn kɪ̀ɛte kwɛm ɠ̄āp kɪ́ kúbjɛ̀.
Ká ɠ̄ɛɲ kɛ̄l, ká mɛ̀gɛ̀ yɛ̄ɛ́, ka mɛgɛ kɛ̄l, kɛɲ́ kwɛm ɠ̄āp. Ka kúbjɛ̀ dwai, ka kɪ̀ɛte
kwɛm ɠ̄āp, ká mwɔ́ɲ kɪ́ fí, ka mɛgɛ chɪ̀kɪ́ kɛ̄l, ka chɪ̀kɪ́ kɪ̀ɲ́, ka wɛɛ́ chwɣ́p, ká bɛ̄l
fwɔ̀t, ka ʠ̄rɣ e wìchɛ̀, ɛ́d yɛ̀i shɛ̄m, ka ʠ̄rɣ tɛ̄yɛ̀. Ka dwan fūr, ka ʠ̄rɣ kɛ̄bɛ̀ kɪ́

[1] *gɛɛh yɛ loɣ.*

583 and by the girl's *gol*. Payment of cattle may extend over many years and, until these payments are completed, the girl lives with her parents and her husband has to visit her there.

The bridewealth cattle go to the girl's *gol* leader, who is either her father, brother or paternal uncle. Pumphrey states that the maternal uncle only receives cattle if there are any arrears outstanding from the marriage of his sister, the girl's mother. Seligman quotes an instance in which 17 cattle were paid by a Dinka and of them 10 went directly to the girl's mother's family.

Marriage Ceremonies

584 If a girl receives a proposal of marriage from a suitor and accepts
585 him, the first step is to obtain the consent of the girl's *gol*. The acceptance of a sheep - the *dyel dhok* - by the girl's parents signifies that they consent to the engagement. According to Pumphrey, the marriage is regarded as valid and binding as soon as this has taken place, and children born to the couple are legitimate even if the cattle payments have not been completed.(1)

A beer-brewing and wedding dance at the bride's village follow and serve to publicise the marriage and express public approval and recognition. After the dance a long period may elapse during which the bridewealth is gradually paid off while the wife lives with her parents. The final ceremony, the *mogho thiek*, marks the separation of the wife from her parents' home and only takes place when all the bridewealth has been paid, or at least the major part of it. Sometimes a mock battle takes place in which the bride is symbolically seized by the groom's party.

There is no set order for the various stages in completing a marriage, for there are often complications, such as seduction or the inability of
[684] the man to pay the cattle and so forth. In cases of seduction the seduction fine has to be paid first and then the full bridewealth.

Divorce

586 If a wife refuses to live with her husband her parents have to return the bridewealth. Deductions are made for the children born of the union at the rate of two head of cattle for every son and five for each daughter. Similarly, if a woman marries another man, before the first suitor has paid all the bridewealth, the cattle which have been paid are given back, subject to the deductions for any children born, because, once the sheep has been accepted, any children of the union belong legally to their father.

587 If the wife dies her *gol* must either substitute an unmarried sister or give back the bridewealth, making deductions for children.

Sexual Offences

684 Fines for adultery are paid to the woman's husband. The amount varies,

(1) Pumphrey, *S.N.R.* Vol.XXIV, 1941, p.26.

8:Howell E-4.8 (1937, 1948) 1953 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

tant among the Nuer and Dinka, does not usually arise. The Shilluk seem to attach greater significance to physical paternity than do other Nilotes and the *okujo* male will usually be linked to the name of his *genitor*, even though this carries with it no legal rights. In the case of males there is often a tendency on the part of the maternal uncle or his heirs to deny to the *okujo* rights of inheritance or full participation in the reciprocal privileges of the lineage, so that his status is sometimes precarious and indeterminate.

Unlike the Nuer and Dinka, the Shilluk have no 'Ghost-Marriage'.[1] It is not stated as a fundamental obligation of kinship that a wife should be 'married to the name' of a dead kinsman, though the sentiment which dictates the custom among the Nuer and Dinka is not absent among the Shilluk. In this sense the Nuer and Dinka system is perhaps more individual than that of the Shilluk. Among the Shilluk continuity of the kinship group, not of the individual, is assured by normal legal marriage with cattle which might well have been used by the deceased for this purpose, but are not transferred in his name. Names are retained, however, by a belief in reincarnation. It is believed that the spirit of some ancestor appears in the new-born child which is then named after the ancestor. At the birth of every child a ceremony is performed, usually with the assistance of a *bay reth* who specializes in such matters, to determine this. The participants will ask, '*men akal yi min*?—'This one is brought by whom?' This accounts for the repetition of names in Shilluk genealogies, irrespective of sex, since there is no reason why the spirit of a female ancestor should not enter a male child or vice versa.

As will be seen later, a man who seduces a girl, if she subsequently gives birth to a child, cannot assume legal parenthood of his offspring except by marrying the mother and then only if at least some of the bridewealth cattle have been transferred, and the initial processes of marriage performed before the child is born. Theoretically, at least, children born out of wedlock cannot be legitimized and must therefore remain *okujo*. This does not apply if the father is betrothed to the girl at the time, provided that he eventually completes the marriage payments. It often happens, however, that a child born in these circumstances is adopted by the man who subsequently marries the mother, and marriage in these conditions usually brings with it legal parenthood of children born out of wedlock.

Violation of Rights in Women

Seduction of Unmarried or Betrothed Girls and Adultery

The seduction of unmarried girls is accounted a serious wrong among the Shilluk and one which demands compensation. The wrong is referred to as *kwor kwob nim gwr* and compensation is assessed, both currently and traditionally, at one ox. Pumphrey remarks that,

> . . . an original seduction often eventuates in marriage, in which case the seduction payment is payable first and the marriage payment after (and over and above it). In such cases also marriage dates from the acceptance of the sheep and it is improbable that the girl's family will accept it until the seduction payment is completed.[2]

[1] See Evans-Pritchard: 'Some Aspects of Marriage and the Family among the Nuer', *Zeitschrift für Vergleichende Rechtswissenschaft*, 1938 and Rhodes-Livingstone Inst. 1948.

[2] Pumphrey: unpublished records.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

that under which the deceased held them. For example if a man dies leaving four sons, two married and two unmarried, the two unmarried sons will join the *gol* of their eldest married brother, who thereupon becomes to them *in loco parentis* and their *gol* leader. With this addition to his *gol* the eldest married brother will take also the cattle which used to belong to the deceased, his father, but he will hold them "on trust" for the marriage of these two brothers. 428 592

THE MARRIAGE TIE.

Marriage marks the assumption of personal responsibility, signified outwardly by the acquisition of a homestead. A man wishes to marry as many wives as he can because, although a man with one wife is a full member of society, he who has three or four (more being unusual outside the *Kwar Reth*), is a man of substance and power. This is because his *gol* will become large and powerful and in a position to dominate in its locality. Where an appeal to the spear is an ever present possibility there is definite strength in numbers. There is no place in society for batchelors or spinsters of mature age, and in fact with the exception of *Reth's* daughters and the mentally deficient they hardly exist. Women outnumber men, so that polygyny is reasonable and almost necessary. 581 [598] [589] [162]

The marriage tie creates an obligation to pay cattle, but it is not created by or dependent upon such payment. To render a union a marriage only two things are essential. First there must be no positive barrier, (such as known consanguinity between the parties, whether through male or female lines of descent) and secondly there must be an offer and an acceptance. The offer and acceptance are symbolised by the man offering to the women's *gol* a sheep (*dyel dhok*). Acceptance of this sheep signifies acceptance of the suitor. The marriage is then complete. There follows the beer brewing (*tieng mogko*) and a wedding dance which is held in the woman's village and which serves the important purpose of fixing the marriage in the minds of the public. The completion of the cattle payments (*kany*) may be delayed over a period of years, and until they are complete the woman usually continues to live in her own homestead where her husband may visit 585 [582] [583] 182 583 591

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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182 583 591 her. The inconvenience of this arrangement acts as a spur to the husband to complete the payments as quickly as possible in order to get his wife home to do the cooking.

585 848 Thus a marriage tie is complete as soon as the proffered sheep has been accepted, the cattle payments being in the nature of a concomitant transaction. Accordingly children born after the marriage tie is complete are legitimate, irrespective of a possible deficiency in cattle payments. The criterion of legitimacy, a question often in dispute, is not the sufficiency of the cattle payments but the acceptance or otherwise of the proffered sheep. Incidentally if the wedding dance is proved to have been held this is usually sufficient proof of the acceptance of the sheep, so that the question at issue is usually whether or not the wedding dance was held. Naturally evidence about this, which is a function attended by a large gathering, is usually forthcoming.

585 [684] It is not always so, however, particularly where the marriage under dispute occurred some twenty years previously. In such circumstances if it is proved as a fact that more than four head of cattle have been paid then, since four head of cattle is the maximum payable for seduction, a strong presumption is raised that the union was a true marriage. Analogously a contrary presumption is raised if it appears that not more than one or two head have been paid, a presumption which would be rebutted only by proof that a wedding dance has been held.

586 [848] A marriage in which only a few head of cattle are paid is often dissolved since the woman's *gol* are apt to get tired of waiting and to marry her to another man. In such case the children born of the dissolved marriage are legitimate irrespective of the smallness of the cattle payments and of the fact that the marriage was short-lived. This question will receive a more detailed consideration later.

Customs Surrounding Marriage.

586 [578] Surrounding the elements necessary to the creation of the marriage tie is a mass of traditional procedure which serves to solemnise and make marriage as permanent as may be. Divorce entails a chain of acrimonious litigation not only wearisome to the litigants but likely to cause family disruption.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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cause family disruption. It is therefore to be avoided if possible, and it is to this end that most of the marriage customs exist.

Freedom of choice is generally allowed to both sexes. Only when cattle are urgently required does a father sometimes marry off his daughter under age, probably to a Dinka who will usually be willing to pay ten head of cattle since his own dowry payment is much larger. The usual procedure is for the girl first to be asked by her admirer whether she will marry him. If she agrees, she will then tell her *gol* leader of the proposal. This may be the first intimation her family has, and there will be a hasty consideration of prospects. If the husband is acceptable he will be told to bring a sheep (the *dyel dhok*). At once he will don his finery, as also will the best man,[31] and the pair will proffer the sheep. If it is accepted the wedding dance will follow closely and the cattle will be brought thereafter by the best man as circumstances permit. If they are readily available about eight will be brought soon after the wedding dance and the remaining two will remain over until a final dance (*mogho thick*) has been held in the bride's village. At this dance neither the bride nor the bridegroom dance. The bridgegroom sits in a house apart with the best man and the bride remains with her family. It is said that sometimes the bridegroom "calls out" the bride, in which case the best man dances with the bride and the bridegroom with the bridesmaid[32]. The bride's maid is a girl friend of the bride who acts as go-between in the frequent elopments which occur after the acceptance of the sheep and before the final dance. Such elopments are regarded lightly by the bride's *gol* who are usually pacified by the present of another sheep, but who nevertheless retrieve their daughter if they can.

The best man is the bridegroom's friend who often accompanies him on a journey to spy out the land for a desirable wife and who, as already mentioned, goes with him to proffer the sheep. Once the sheep is accepted the wife's *gol* appoint also their *jal tong* and it is through these intermediaries that all haggling over cattle is conducted.

31. *Jal tong*, meaning literally "man of the spear."

32. *Nya dhey tong*, meaning literally "young woman of the spear."

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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585 A poor quality animal will be rejected by the *fal tong* of the bride's family who will request the best man to bring a better. In a sense these intermediaries act as solicitors of the contracting parties, and by their mediation reduce friction which might lead to a breach of the marriage.

The *mogho thieh* is the final ceremony marking the separation of the wife from her own clan, and sometimes ends with a mock battle resulting in the "violent" removal of the bride by the kinsmen of the bridegroom. The bridegroom's party throw spears into the village of the bride and her relations reply with an answering shower, each side keeping the other's spears. After this mock battle the bride goes to the village of the bridegroom. The remaining two or three head of cattle will soon be brought and the transaction is then complete. The last bull is sometimes known as *wanh thieh*.

The above is a description of a marriage in which no hitch has occurred. Often the sequence of events is entirely different. For example an original seduction often eventuates in a marriage, in which case the seduction payment is payable first and the marriage payment after (and over and above) it. In such cases also the marriage dates from the acceptance of the sheep and it is improbable that the girls' family will accept it until the seduction payment is complete. Again some marriages drag on interminably because the bridegroom's *gol* does not produce cattle. In such cases the wife's *gol* sometimes tire of waiting and end the marriage by marrying her to another, in which case the disappointed husband is entitled to recover any cattle he has paid. At other times, if the husband is acceptable to the woman's *gol* or if, as often happens, they know that the girl is so fond of her lover that all attempts to marry her elsewhere will fail they accept the marriage and content themselves by waiting until a daughter of the marriage is married, when they will claim from her bride wealth the number of cattle remaining in arrears from the bride wealth of her mother.

583 Generally the cattle payments go all to the *gol* leader of the woman, be he her father, brother, or uncle. Professor Seligmann was at pains to discover how the cattle were divided among the relatives of the wife, and especially what was the share of the maternal uncle. In fact

29:Dempsey M-5 (1940-1954) 1955
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until at least seven cows have been paid. When that number has been safely gathered into the family byre, the love-lorn swain may indeed claim his blushing bride, but if after that the payment of the remainder be unduly delayed, the indignant father and the male relatives of the lady will not hesitate to carry her off to her former home till what time the final instalments are forthcoming, or even, if there is little or no prospect of the debt being speedily paid, of offering her anew to one more likely to fulfil his obligations. 583

But even when the last cow has been handed over; when the somewhat bewildered ox, garlanded and decorated, has been escorted to the bride's village by a cheering and singing mob of the bridegroom's friends; when the mock battle has taken place during which the bride's party endeavours to and eventually succeeds in wresting the cow from the hands of the groom's partisans; when they in turn have stormed the paternal stronghold, and carrying off the lady have delivered her into the arms of her ever-loving husband; when the last dance has been danced and the final bumper quaffed, still the young husband's bovine anxieties are not completely at rest. A murrain might sweep the land and claim one or more of his cattle among its victims, and the law demands that they be replaced, or else he may find himself a grass widower. And if perchance the replacements should die, then others must be forthcoming within a reasonable period of time, that the total may be kept complete. Failure to comply with these demands may mean that the District Chief may order that the unhappy man's wife and children 'be sold and payment be made'. This quite literally happened at Detwok; a man had been married for ten years and had three children; he had paid only seven head of cattle and of these three had died, so that he still owed six. His family was taken from him and given to another man who was able to pay the required cattle. Fortunately, in this case the mission was able to step in. It was a Christian family and the marriage had been solemnized in church according to the requirements of both God and the Government. The priest told the chief that he could not ruthlessly 583 585 583 586 686 [797]